

England in the Soudan

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The object of this paper is to show how the actual control of the Egyptian Soudan came to be in the hands of England. To do this it will be necessary to show first how Egyptian political influence has been carried into that portion of Africa known as the Soudan which, lying to the south and west of Berber, stretches away to the great lakes in the interior of Africa and is drained by the upper Nile and its tributaries; second, the gradual growth of European influence and control in Egyptian governmental affairs and the part played by England in this growth; third, the loss of the Soudan through the Mahdist rebellion and the re-conquest by the Anglo-Egyptian forces; fourth, what has been done for the Soudan by the English administration and the existing conditions there. Apart from Egypt the Soudan has no history. Therefore any discussion concerning England's attitude toward the Soudan must be arrived at through England's connection with Egypt. The eyes of Europe have ever been turned upon Egypt and Asia Minor. The Greeks, the Romans, the Italian Merchants, and the Crusaders each and all had their influence here. As Europe passed from the Mediaeval stages into the Modern the struggle between the nations for the supremacy in commercial and political influence here has been so sharp that the finest arts of diplomacy have been strained to the utmost to prevent a clash of the rival powers.

Napoleon, ever watchful for a chance to strike a blow at his strongest rival, England, thought he saw a way to the conquest of India by first obtaining Egypt. Accordingly on May 18, 1798, thirteen ships of the line, six frigates, and twelve vessels of smaller size sailed from Toulon, France, carrying a French army under Napoleon. On July 1, 1798, the expedition landed near Alexandria and, on July 5, took that city. He rapidly gained control of Egypt but was compelled to return to France by the sudden turn of affairs there. The French army of occupation remained, however, for over two years. On March 2, 1801, an English army under the command of Sir Ralph Abercromby arrived at Abukir bay. The French were defeated in the battle of Alexandria and on September 1, 1801, surrendered the city.

Before the end of the month the last of the French troops had sailed from the shores of Egypt leaving the English in control. England, however, was only trying to thwart the plans of Napoleon and did not care, at this time, for any particular influence over Egypt. It was not long, therefore, until the English army was withdrawn.

Just at this time there came to the front in Egypt a man who was destined to wield great influence in Egyptian affairs. Mehemet Ali was born, in 1768, at Kaballa, a small seaport town, of Albania district, on the west coast of Macedonia. He took to military life and became an officer in the Turkish army. He was sent to Egypt with the army which was to drive out the French and rose rapidly to the command of the Albanian troops. By 1805 he had become an important factor in Egypt. He was a popular fellow and had become such a friend in the eyes of the people that they entreated him to become their ruler. He accepted and thus stepped into power under the guise of the people's choice. The political affairs of Egypt had for a long time before this been dominated by a class of warriors known as the Mamelukes. They were from European Turkey and formed a large part of the Turkish army in Egypt. A very sharp opposition to Mehemet Ali at once sprang up among the leaders of the Mamelukes. However he succeeded, by means of treachery and deception, in murdering the most of them and by 1807 was in complete control of lower Egypt. At this point he met with a phase of politics which, at no great distant future, was to play an important part in his career, that is, European interference. In the last days of 1806 the Grenville ministry, in England, conceived the idea that the Porte was about to turn Egypt over to France in return for her aid against Russia. Thinking to check this, and also to aid Russia against Napoleon, it was decided to send an expedition to Egypt. In laying their plans, however, they strangely underrated the powers of Mehemet Ali and sent only between four and five thousand men. On March 17, 1807, a landing was made on the coast of Egypt without opposition. Mehemet Ali was at that time in upper Egypt engaged in a campaign against the last of the Mameluke Beys. The city of Alexandria was taken with the loss of only seven men, but within the city no provisions were found. A detachment of twelve hundred men was dispatched to Rosetta, to obtain supplies. They were entrapped by a detachment of Mehemet Ali's troops (and some four

Minister of India from 1852-1853, where
he became Consul-General and Minister
Plenipotentiary in Egypt, which position
~~he held till 1861~~ he still holds. His virtually British
Viceroy in Egypt, and his efficient
administration has won for him the
appellation of "Maker of Modern Egypt."

Euelyn Baring. First Viscount of Cromer.
B. 1841 at Cromer Hall, Norfolk ^{and at present holds the title of}
^{was} educated at Woolwich Academy. After a
brilliant career in the Royal Artillery,
he served as private secretary to the
Earl of Northbrook, Governor-General of
India, from 1872-76; was Commissioner
on the Egyptian public debt from 1877 to 1879.
Was Controller-General of Egyptian
Finances from 1879-1880: and was Finance

hundred of them killed; the rest escaped to Alexandria. An expedition of twenty-five hundred men was now sent to besiege Rosetta. For thirteen days they bombarded the city. Then news came of the approach of large reinforcements from the upper Nile. Mehemet Ali had formed a truce with the Mameluke Beys and had induced them to join forces with him in order to drive the foreigners out of Egypt. On hearing of this the English commanders decided to return to Alexandria. They were prevented from doing so, however, by the advance of Mehemet Ali's forces. A battle took place in which the English were defeated with a loss of nine hundred men. In the campaign which followed Mehemet Ali was victorious and by September, 1807, the last of the English army had left the Egyptian shores.

Mehemet Ali was now supreme in Egypt and for thirty^{nine} years he ruled with a firm hand. Under his administration Egypt advanced rapidly. He organized his army on the European plan and installed a system of general irrigation. In 1819, hearing that anarchy prevailed in the Soudan, he determined to introduce there the benefits of regular government and civilization and at the same time occupy his troops. He accordingly ordered his son, Ismail, to invade the country. Ismail, in 1823, reached Khartoum, at the junction of the White and Blue Niles, and made it the capital city of the Egyptian Soudan which at this time extended only a short distance beyond Khartoum itself. Thus for the first time, in modern times, Egyptian influence was extended into those regions which were destined to play such an important part in Egyptian affairs of the future. By 1830 Mehemet Ali was looking with ambitious eyes toward Arabia and Asia Minor. He claimed the Sultan had promised him the rule of Syria in return for his assistance in putting down a Greek revolt. Encouraged by the friendship of France, he sent his adopted son, Ibrahim, with an army into Syria, under pretext of subduing a revolt. This action brought on a quarrel with the ministers of the Sultan who, in 1832, declared him a rebel. Accordingly Mehemet Ali, pretending to be a faithful servant of the Sultan and wishing only to rid him of his bad ministers, ordered his army to march upon Constantinople. However, the Powers suddenly decided that matters had gone far enough and active preparations were begun to check the progress of Mehemet Ali. By the treaty of 1840, between the Porte and the European Powers, especially England and Russia, as France was not willing to accede to the agreement, a peace was imposed upon Mehemet Ali and he was forced to give up Syria. Egypt, however, was practically turned over to

his rule and for the rest of his active life he devoted himself to the developement of his country along social and material lines. In 1848, when eighty years of age, he was overtaken by a mental malady and the responsibilities of government were assumed by his adopted son, Ibrahim Pasha.

Mehemet Ali lived until 1849, but Ibrahim Pasha had pre-deceased him and Abbas, son of Ibrahim, ascended to the vice-regal throne. Although born in Egypt Abbas was a Turk of the worst type. Ignorant, cowardly, sensual, fanatic, and opposed to reforms of every sort. He ruled for six years. One night, in July 1854, he was strangled to death while asleep. Said Pasha, the third son of Mehemet Ali, succeeded Abbas upon the throne of Egypt. He was an amiable and liberal minded prince, yet lacked the vigorous intelligence and force of character of his father. During his reign the Suez canal was begun. Through the personal efforts of M. de Lesseps, a French engineer, a commission was appointed to investigate the practicability of a ship canal, connecting the Mediterranean and Red Seas, across the isthmus of Suez. England opposed the canal on the grounds that it would be detrimental to her interest in South Africa. English engineers were, nevertheless, placed on the commission. This commission met in Paris, June 1856, to make its report. The views of the English engineers, that the canal should be raised twenty-seven feet above sea level with a system of locks at each end, were rejected and the report of the majority, recommending the system now in operation, was submitted to the Viceroy. M. de Lesseps spent the next two years in holding conferences and in preliminary steps toward obtaining the necessary funds for carrying out the plans. The stock of the canal company was divided into 400,000 shares. 176,602 shares were reserved to the Viceroy of Egypt; 85,506 were disposed of in England, Austria, Russia and the United States; all the rest were placed in France.

Said Pasha died in 1863, and was succeeded by his nephew, Ismail Pasha, the second son of Ibrahim Pasha. Ismail was the first Viceroy to bear the title of "Khedive". He was an intelligent and energetic man, but given to great extravagance in both personal and governmental affairs. It was his extravagance that plunged Egypt into that ruinous debt which practically made her the dependency she is, and which is still one of the great money problems of Europe. During his reign, in 1869, the Suez canal was opened to traffic and, strangely enough, the first ships to pass through it were flying the flag of England, the one nation

which had opposed the construction of the great work. Ismail improved the internal conditions of Egypt and did more toward pushing Egyptian influence into the upper Nile regions than any ruler since Mehemet Ali. In those provinces lying to the south and west of the confluence of the White and Blue Niles, generally known as Kordofan and Darfur, there were continual uprisings and petit revolts on the part of the Arab tribes. These grew more and more threatening as attempts were made to check their chief pursuit, that of slave hunting and slave trade. At last, in 1870, Ismail Pasha called for European assistance to aid him in completing the conquest of central Africa and in stamping out the slave trade. Accordingly Sir Samuel Baker, an Englishman who had explored the greater part of this district as far south as the great lakes, was chosen to undertake the work. He was placed in command of twelve hundred men and received the title of Governor-General of the provinces he was commissioned to subdue. He succeeded in stamping out the slave trade, for a time, by establishing throughout the district a number of small military stations. He gradually overcame the distrust of the native rulers and returned to Europe believing he had put an end to the slave traffic. However, he had scarcely reached Cairo before the slave trade was renewed with great vigor. Finally, in 1874, under European pressure, chiefly of France and England, the Khedive undertook measures to stop the slave traffic once and for all. He entered into various conventions with England on the subject and, in order to convince Europe of his sincerity, consented to place the central African provinces under the direct administration of an European officer who should be commissioned to carry on the work of repression, conquest, and organization commenced by Baker. He selected for this purpose a man well equipped for such work, who had had actual experience along such lines in putting down the Tae-Ping rebellion in China. This was the Englishman, General Gordon, commonly known as "Chinese Gordon" and who now came to be known as "Gordon Pasha". Gordon was appointed Governor-General of the Soudan in 1874.

Now came a sudden turn in Egyptian affairs which gave England the upper hand in the control there. Facilities given by foreign money lenders had encouraged the already ~~to~~ prominent tendency on the part of Khedive Ismail, toward extravagance and ostentation; while mismanagement and corrupt

practices on the part of the ruling classes, all contrived to rapidly and greatly increase the public debt of Egypt. Lord Milner tells¹ that "when Ismail came to the throne in 1863, the debt of Egypt was only a little over three million pounds sterling. The annual revenue of the country was amply sufficient to meet all needful expenditure, yet by the end of 1876 the debt had risen to eighty-nine millions. It had been increased nearly thirty-fold in thirteen years. Practically all of the loans were contracted with English and French banking houses with interest from six to twelve percent at first and later as high as eighteen and twenty-eight percent. It is appalling to think that a country of six million inhabitants and only five million acres of cultivated land had added to its burdens at the rate of seven millions a year. And at the same time the taxation of the land had been increased by something like fifty per cent. There is nothing in the financial history of any country to equal this carnival of extravagance and oppression."

Until 1875 interest on the debt had been promptly paid. Suddenly the Khedive found that he could not satisfy his creditors. He must have more money. On November 26,

1875, it was officially announced that the British Government had purchased for \$20,000,000 the 176,602 shares representing the Khedive's interest in the Suez canal.² The news of this transaction created intense excitement both in England and on the Continent. Much fear was expressed by the other powers that the holding of such a preponderance of the canal stock would give England the virtual suzerainty of Egypt. Their fears were, in fact, well grounded for, besides selling the shares of the Suez canal stock to the English Government, the Khedive also applied officially to England to send him two gentlemen competent to undertake full charge of Egyptian finances. The fullest power and every information was promised to these new officials. The English Government complied with his request, intrusting the mission to Mr. Cave. He accompanied by Colonel Stokes, one financial and two political secretaries, and a number of clerks arrived at Alexandria late in December 1875. They were received with great honor. The Governor of Alexandria waited upon them immediately upon their arrival. The Minister of Finance came down from Cairo in a special train which he placed at the disposal of Mr. Cave, who proceeded at once to the seat of government.

³In March, 1876, Mr. Cave made his report. He showed that loans had been made at ruinous rates of interest. He criticised the past administration of Egyptian finances and

1. "England in Egypt"; Alfred Milner: pp. 177.

2. Edinburgh Review, January 1876; Vol. 143, pp. 250.

3. Appleton's Annual Cyclopaedia, 1876.

It was reported that the Khedive had first offered his shares to the French Government which had refused to purchase, fearing that such a move would lead to fresh complications with Germany.

and laid bare the causes which had brought about the state of affairs then existing. He found the revenues of the country already inadequate to meet the demands of the debt, and such conditions existing that the amount of revenue would become less and less each year. He showed the practicability of consolidating the whole debt with a diminution of the rates of interest; suggesting the conversion of the debt into a stock bearing seven per cent interest, and the appointment of a person, who should inspire confidence, at the head of a board of control to supervise the collection of taxes. This plan met with considerable opposition from the Continental Powers, especially France. Nevertheless, on May 25, 1876, the Khedive issued a decree for the unification of the public debt. This decree provided for the issue of seven per cent bonds (with interest from July 15, 1876) redeemable at par within sixty-five years, with half yearly drawings; coupons not to be subject to taxation by the Egyptian Government. Both coupons and bonds were to be paid in gold without deduction, at Cairo, Paris, or London. A commission was appointed, for liquidating the public debt, which was to begin its work on June 10, 1876. Private holders of Egyptian obligations in England and France, however, held that such an arrangement sacrificed their interests to those of a few heads of ~~departments~~ establishments, and refused to accept the sixty-five year bonds as a fair payment for the securities they already held. Accordingly, on invitation from the Khedive, another commission, consisting of Mr. Goshen, a former minister from England, and M. Joubert, director of the Paris Bank, visited Egypt in September to investigate more definite measures for securing the loans. The chief point of their report, of importance to us, is the provision for the appointment of a Controller-General of revenue and a Controller-General of the public debt, who should be respectively an Englishman and a Frenchman. To these men was to be given the nomination of the general tax collector of the whole land, in entire independence of the Egyptian Minister of Finance. The plans set forth in this report were installed by the Khedive in a decree issued November 18, 1876.

Affairs, however, did not run very smoothly. By the fall of 1877 all revenues had largely fallen off. The great question at stake now became the maintenance or diminution of the interest on the public debt; the Egyptian Government having proposed to reduce the interest. It was thought by many, both in and out of Egypt, that the public officials had acted dishonestly. *The Commission of the Public Debt after

I. Appleton's Annual Cyclopaedia, 1876.

The "Caisse de la Dette", or Commission of the Public Debt established by decree of the Khedive, May 2, 1876, was an international commission for the control of the revenue devoted to the payment of the interest on the debt.

much negotiation succeeded, in January 1878, in gaining the sanction of the Khedive to an inquiry into the receipts of the Government. He refused however to submit the expenditures to any examination whatever. Accordingly, in February, the Commission of the Public Debt called on the Minister of Finance to produce his books and disclose the true receipts. They held that they were empowered to take such a step by the decree of November 18, 1876. Their claim was upheld by the international court, and on March 30, the Khedive issued a decree approving a commission of inquiry and empowering it to investigate all the elements of the financial situation. It also bound all ministers and officials of the government to furnish the commission, at its request, any and all information. On August 20, 1878, this commission made its report, showing the complete system of financial management with all its faults. In conclusion the report proposed a number of specific financial and administrative reforms all of which tended to limit the authority of the Khedive and his native ministers. The chief reforms were; that no taxes shall be imposed or gathered without a law, authorizing them, being promulgated; that future legislation may extend taxation to foreigners; and that there shall be an efficient control over the tax collectors. The Khedive, on August 23, 1878, in a speech before the Commission of Inquiry gave assurances that then proposed reforms should be carried out. He accordingly intrusted Nubar Pasha with the formation of a new ministry. In this ministry the Minister of Finance was Mr. Rivers Wilson, an Englishman; and the Minister of Public Work M. de Blignieres, a Frenchman.

This newly established Government ran along very smoothly for a time. In the first days of February, 1879, the Caisse issued its report showing that the debt had only been reduced \$3,275,000 since 1876. Taxes were not being reduced very much and many of the official's salaries had not been paid. February 18, a public demonstration of a rather serious character took place in Cairo. After an ordinary council of the ministers, Nubar Pasha and Mr. Rivers Wilson, on leaving in a carriage, were stopped by a large throng of armed officers clamoring for long arrears of salary. The two ministers were grossly insulted and forced to go back. The crowd was finally dispersed by a regiment of soldiers and many arrests made. On the following day Nubar Pasha offered his resignation which was accepted at once by the Khedive who had a profound aversion for Nubar. The Khedive had called him to the head of the ministry at a time when the European Governments demanded assurance of security in

the management of affairs. It was thought then, that the Khedive would get rid of him as soon as possible.

The news of the acceptance of Nubar's resignation caused considerable excitement in London and Paris. It was believed in these centers that the Khedive had stirred up this public demonstration in order to get rid of Nubar. England immediately proposed to France that joint action be taken looking to the reinstatement of Nubar. Accordingly, on March 8, 1879, a joint note was placed before the Khedive, containing the conditions for the settlement of the crisis. Chief among these conditions was the right of Messrs. Wilson and de Blignieres to veto all propositions which were not acceptable to them. Finally after considerable negotiation a new ministry was formed, in the second week of March, with Prince Tewfik, the eldest son of Ismail Pasha, at its head. Messrs. Wilson and de Blignieres being retained as Ministers of Finance and Public Works. This arrangement, however, was not destined to a long existence. On April 7, a revolution took place, a peaceful one it is true but one which was for the moment the complete undoing of the dual control. This revolution was the climax of the following series of events. Messrs. Wilson and de Blignieres, acting with Mr. Baring and the Caisse, having found it impossible to meet all the demands of the public debt, decided upon a plan for the equitable reduction of the claims of all classes of creditors and submitted it to the Khedive. The Khedive, however, proposed a counter project giving special terms to the holders of the floating debt. This scheme was supported by a petition signed by a great number of Egyptian officials both political and religious. Naturally the two schemes clashed. It was clearly a revolt, on the part of the Khedive, against European influence and all Egypt was on his side. Prince Tewfik resigned the presidency of the ministry and the Khedive dismissed Wilson and de Blignieres. These gentlemen, however, refused to resign their posts unless authorized to do so by their respective Governments. An official statement was promulgated by the Khedive declaring that he, complying with the daily growing national feeling, had decided to make the ministry purely Egyptian; which he did under the Presidency of Sherif Pasha.

The first work of this new ministry was to issue a decree, on April 22, 1879, declaring a suspension of the payments of interest and the necessity of a general reduction of interest. The revolution of the Khedive and especially this one move on the part of the newly formed Government created an intense excitement in Europe and led to

Sir E. Baring was at this time English ^{Controller} ~~Consul~~-General in Egypt.

negotiation between France and England as to what should be done next. They desired the establishment of a good administration in Egypt not so much out of consideration for the bond holders as for the fact that a good administration would give to no Power a pretext for intervening in Egyptian affairs on the plea of protecting the interests of its subjects. Therefore the exclusion of the European element from the ministry was utterly unacceptable to them. Accordingly instructions were sent to the agents of the two Governments, and at the same time communicated to the Porte, stating that France and England regarded a good administration in Egypt as indispensable to their interests and those of all foreign residents; and that such an administration did not seem feasible without the presence of the two Europeans in the Egyptian ministry. They therefore invited the Khedive to comply as promptly as possible with their demands and hand over the portfolios of Finance and Public Works to the English and French representatives. This was not the most pleasing invitation imaginable to extend to a would be independent ruler, and, as the note did not have in any sense a threatening tone, the Khedive did not comply. In the latter part of April, 1879, an offer was made by the Sultan to depose Ismail Pasha and appoint Halim Pasha, uncle of Ismail, as successor. This proposal did not meet with the favor of France and was therefore not accepted. By June protests against the condition of affairs in Egypt had come from most of the European Powers. The Khedive was counseled to voluntarily abdicate; the Powers promising to support his son, Prince Tewfik, as his successor. The Khedive desired this promise in writing but was refused. Accordingly he would not listen to any suggestion of abdication. On June 19, however, the English and French Consuls-General went together to the palace and demanded the abdication of the Khedive. Ismail asked to be allowed forty-eight hours in order to communicate with the Porte before giving his reply. The result was that, on the 26th of June, the Sultan signed a firman deposing Ismail Pasha in favor of his son Prince Mohammed Tewfik, who was proclaimed Khedive of Egypt, as Tewfik the first, at six o'clock on June 26, 1879.

Thus we see Egypt apparently ready to start on a new era. Yet the first official move made by Tewfik caused great dissatisfaction on the part of the Powers. He created a ministry composed entirely of Egyptians, under Sherif Pasha, and forbade Nubar Pasha, the protege of the Powers, returning to Egypt. Immediately England and France brought

pressure to bear upon the Khedive and this ministry was dismissed. On August 18, 1879, a new and more agreeable one was formed with the Khedive himself as president. In September Mr. Baring and M. de Blignieres were chosen as Controllers-General of Finances. Their appointment was made official, on November 10, by a decree in which the Khedive granted to the Controllers full powers to investigate into every branch of the public service; and binding all ministers and officials to furnish them, on demand, any and all information. These Controllers-General were to take the rank of ministers and could only be removed by their own Government. Once more Egyptian affairs were dominated by European influence and by January, 1880, it looked, for the first time since the dual control had been established, as though conditions in Egypt would assume a definite and permanent shape. Never before had the hope of a final arrangement of the financial situation in Egypt been so well founded. In this same month the Controllers-General submitted to the Khedive a report on the financial conditions and suggested that, in order to bring affairs into a more definite control, a line of demarcation should be drawn at December 31, 1879. All debts prior to this date must be settled by liquidation; the terms of which should be embodied in a law, whose conditions shall be binding on all concerned, so that the Egyptian Government could never be sued for claims which had accrued before 1880. Such a law should be drawn up and submitted to the European Powers for their sanction.² The Khedive accepted this plan and, on April 5, 1880, an International Committee of Liquidation was appointed by him, the European Powers concurring. This Committee consisted of representatives of the English, French, Italian, Austrian, German, and Egyptian governments; with Sir Rivers Wilson (English) as president. After making a careful and thorough investigation of the condition of affairs this Committee was to draw up a law of liquidation. The sittings of the Committee were to be attended by the representatives of the international tribunals. The five European governments represented on this Committee, having expressed their acceptance of such a law, would collectively request the adhesion of the other Powers. The Committee completed its work on July 1, 1880, and the law drafted by it was immediately signed by the Khedive and officially promulgated. It was at once accepted by the Powers.

During 1880 many reforms were introduced in Egypt, at the suggestion of the Controllers-General, which added greatly to the welfare of the country and its people. The "Mukabala", which was an arrangement instituted by Ismail by

which large proprietors, by paying certain assessments, could purchase a partial immunity from the land tax for all time, had been abolished and the land tax revised. The poll tax had been done away with and twenty-eight other small but vexatious taxes had been abolished. The time for the payment of taxes had been so arranged that the collection came just at harvest time when the people would feel the burden the least. The practice of paying taxes in kind was done away with. The tariff had been thoroughly regulated and placed under better direction. The education of the people, a matter hitherto sadly neglected, had been taken hold of and a commission appointed to set forth plans. In spite of external complications Egypt was profiting by the dual control. However, the situation of Egypt under this international control was not a natural one; and had the people been of a less docile and peaceable nature it could never have been established. In 1875 we have seen the supervision of the entire administration, the management of finances, and the practical control of all departments transferred to the hands of Europeans at the dictation of the foreign Governments, chiefly France and England. They with Austria and Italy were to choose the four commissioners who made up the "Caisse de la Dette". In 1880 we see France and England choosing and forcing upon the Khedive the joint Controllers-General who could not be removed save by their own Governments. Besides these Controllers, who practically had a veto on everything, and the public debt officers we find the judgeships of the international courts, the customs, the railways, the telegraphs, the harbor of Alexandria and the Suez canal ports, the coast guard, the lighthouses, all directed by executive officers either French or English. Thus Egypt had become a ward of the Christian Powers, there being fourteen Governments that claimed the right of intervention, with France and England acting as trustees for the rest. The interest of all concerned demanded a good administration in Egypt and there was but one way of obtaining it and that was by unity of action within certain limits. All was not harmony, however, among the Powers and the rivalry between France and England for influence was some times very bitter. France by selecting able and hard working officials had gained the stronger foothold in the administration. The foreign officers had, for the most part, performed their duties faithfully and capably, and their advent had been a benison to Egypt.

Yet the very success of the foreigners in extri-
 .(cating

the country from the political and financial quicksand into which it had fallen, and in creating a confidence for its future, was the ~~very~~ thing that chafed the Egyptians the most. They saw their government taken out of their own hands and all important posts filled by foreigners. The most irksome thing of all was the enormous salaries received by the officers. Salaries which would have been enormous in any country but which in Egypt were absolutely unheard of. The Khedive countanced it all because he knew it to be for the best interest of his country. Yet he was intensely patriotic, thoroughly Egyptian in his feelings, and above all a devout Mohammedan. He therefore closely guarded against the development of any foreign interests other than in a governmental way. This bitterness toward outside interference had its natural outcome in a national movement which took active form in 1881, and which had its chief center in the army. As the army was the department of government which had been least touched by foreign influence, it was natural that the movement should center there. A bitter opposition arose in the army when an attempt was made to replace the chief native officers with Turks. A mutiny of troops broke out in Cairo on February 2, 1881, and a demand was made for the dismissal of Osman Pasha, the Minister of War. The chief leader of this mutiny was a Colonel of one of the regiments, by name Ahmed Arabi Bey. He was a true Egyptian and believed thoroughly in the cry which afterwards became typical with the rebellion he headed, "Egypt for the Egyptians". He conceived the idea of inciting the army to demand popular reforms, and the step once taken became its natural leader. He held the universal confidence of the army and soon won the devotion of the people. On February 9, 1881, a document, signed by Arabi, demanding the dismissal of the ministry, a constitution, an increase in the army to its full limit, and the abolition of the Controllers-General was presented to the Khedive. The demand was backed up with a threat to depose the Khedive if it was not granted. This move brought about a change in the ministry under the presidency of Sherif Pasha and a promise that the demands of the army, with the exception of its increase, should be carried out. Again Europeans began to fear for their invested dollars and there was talk of sending a joint expedition to Egypt to restore order. The possibility of complications, however, prevented this. Any action on the part of the Sultan was strongly opposed by France, who claimed she did not want to unite the Egyptian and the Eastern question. Nevertheless negotiation between

the Sultan and the Khedive were carried out in secret. As a counter move to this secret intriguing an English and a French ironclad were stationed at Alexandria on October 6, 1881. *England was willing that Turkey should send troops to Egypt to suppress the army revolts, but France strongly opposed it and England gave in. The Sultan remonstrated against this last move on the part of the Powers; holding that Egypt was again quiet and that the presence of the ships might cause some agitation which would lead to a general revolt. The Powers replied that if disorder was at an end the Turkish envoys were no longer needed and that their recall would be followed by the withdrawal of the ships. The Turkish commissioners were suddenly recalled and on October 20, the ironclads sailed away.

The national movement resulted in the calling together of the Chamber of Notables on December 26, 1881. This assembly at once prepared a project which would give them full constitutional powers. They declared that the control and liquidation arrangements were inviolable. Yet they demanded that the budget be submitted to them. They also demanded the initiative in legislation and the right to investigate the conduct of all officials. It very soon became evident who was behind this national movement. Arabi Bey was pushing more and more to the front until, on January 4, 1882, he was taken into the cabinet as assistant Minister of War. The demands of the Chamber of Notables and of Arabi however, were met by a firm opposition on the part of the Controllers-General, backed by their respective Governments. An identical note from England and France was presented, on January 7, 1882, containing the following determined statement. "The two Governments are closely associated in their determination to ward off, by their united efforts, all causes of internal and external complications which might menace the order of things established in Egypt. They have no doubt that the publicly expressed assurances of their intention in this respect will contribute to prevent dangers which the Khedive's government might have to dread, which dangers, moreover, would certainly find England and France united to face them."

France urged that action be taken at once and went so far as to detail marines for the expedition. England, however, would not hear to this and proposed that the Porte be allowed to establish order in Egypt but France again flatly refused. Just at this time there came a change of ministry in France and with it a slight change in policy.

Lord Grenville, in a dispatch dated November 4, 1881, declared the policy of England in Egypt as opposed to all intervention and in support of the native autonomous government within the limits and rights accorded by the Sultan in his firman of 1879, which established Tewfik on the throne. And as opposed to the separation of Egypt from Turkey.

I. Appleton's Annual Cyclopaedia, 1883.

Although she still refused to allow the Porte to intervene she suddenly proposed that the Nationalists be allowed to attempted the reforms they had at heart. England refused this although the Nationalists gave every promise that Egypt's duties to foreigners and foreign interests should be held as sacred. Just why the British Government if, as it claimed at that time, it had no ulterior purpose in view, refused to allow any attempt toward constitutional government in Egypt is a question which will probably never be definitely answered. However, on February 3, 1882, a sudden and decisive step was taken by the Chamber of Notables. They demanded either the granting of constitutional powers, or the formation of a new ministry with their choice of certain ministers. Sherif Pasha, the president of the then existing ministry, immediately resigned and a ministry favorable to the Notables was formed with Arabi Pasha as Minister of War and Marine. At a time when the army was the controlling element in the country, the folio of Minister of War meant practically the ministerial control. With such a man as Arabi Pasha in this position and the ministry and the Chamber of Notables united against the Khedive it is not surprising that matters came to a sudden crisis. Five hundred promotions were made in the army within three months.

Plans were made for increasing the army to 20,000 men and for fortifying the coast. The Khedive broke off all relation with the ministry and the ministry would listen to nothing from the Controllers-General. England and France became excited and, to complicate matters more, decided upon a joint naval demonstration. On May 20, 1882, a combined English and French fleet anchored in the harbor of Alexandria. Warlike preparations in Egypt went rapidly on. A council of war was held at Cairo and the leading Generals took oath to protect their country against foreign intervention. In compliance with an ultimatum from the Powers in control the newly formed ministry had resigned. But these officers now declared they would obey no orders except those of Arabi and the Khedive was compelled to restore him as Minister of War. With all this warlike demonstration and the prospects of the deliverance of Egypt from the foreigners, the popular passion began to rise. All the resentment, hatred, and jealousy of the people of Alexandria, where the arrogance of the foreigners and the privileges enjoyed by them goaded the most, came out on June 11, in a riot in the streets of that city. An Arab mob invaded the European quarter and were met by armed resistance. About seventy Europeans and

six or seven hundred Arabs were killed. All the Europeans who could do so left the city at once. It was estimated that Arabi had placed over six thousands men in the city and work on the fortifications was being rapidly pushed to completion.

A conference of the agents of the Powers which met, June 23, 1882, at Therapia on the Bosphorus acknowledged the right of the Sultan to put down the revolt in Egypt. England and France saw that they were losing their hold on Egypt yet could not determine upon any definite action. However a sudden move in a semi-independent manner on the part of Sir Beauchamp Seymour, admiral of the British fleet, suddenly cleared matters up. On May 15, 1882, instructions had been sent to him to land a force if necessary to protect the Khedive. Acting upon this slight authority he took the step which gave England the control of Egypt. On July 6, he pretended ~~to~~ suddenly ^{to} discover that the fortifications, which had been under construction since May 29, were an imminent danger to his ships. He accordingly sent an ultimatum demanding that operations should cease or he would be compelled to destroy the works. Great excitement prevailed in the city as a result of this ultimatum and finally the Consuls of the other Powers concerned obtained a promise that the work should be discontinued. However on the night of July 8, Seymour discovered that the work was being carried on under cover of darkness. Declaring this to be a breach of engagement he ordered, on July 9, under pain of bombardment, that the forts be temporarily surrendered to the English, within twenty-four hours, to be dismantled. It was very evident how such a demand would be met by the Egyptians. ~~and~~ Accordingly the ships of all other Powers and strangely enough the French ironclads withdrew from the harbor. At daybreak on July 11, the English ships took their positions and cleared for action. At half past seven the signal was given to open fire. All day long until half past ~~at~~ five in the evening the bombardment continued. Then as the fortifications were completely destroyed the firing ceased. At one o'clock on the following day the white flag was hoisted by the Egyptians. Negotiations for the surrender were prolonged into the night when the city was seen to be on fire in many places. Marines were hastily landed but too late. The city was nearly destroyed and Arabi and his army had escaped. The first shot fired by the English had practically made Arabi Pasha ruler of Egyptians, the Khedive being regarded as a mere tool of England. The revolt was

now a certainty and England was left to crush it unaided. It took General Wolseley with 21,000 men, fifteen months to put down this revolt; but when, at Cairo on September 14, 1883 Arabi Pasha surrendered unconditionally the rebellion was at an end. France at once prepared to resume her share in the control. England however, had no such intentions. Determination, prompt action, and success had given Egypt to her and she chose to control alone.

We have now seen how England became supreme in the control of Egypt; and have for the time lost sight of the real object, the Soudan. When last we noted it, in 1874, the Khedive had just appointed General Gordon as Governor-General with instructions to stamp out the slave traffic and organize the administration, which had become very corrupt under the Turkish-Egyptian officials. For two years Gordon remained in the Soudan and these regions now became the scene of continual military movements. A sudden and decided check was placed upon the slave trade and justice was placed within reach of all. The Soudan was now becoming better known to the world. European explorers were rapidly bringing to light the secrets of central Africa and conditions in the Soudan could be better understood. By 1876 Gordon had affairs there well in hand. In this year, ~~however~~, because of ill health, he was compelled to leave the scene of operations and go back to Cairo. He had scarcely turned his back, however, when the Soudan returned to its old condition. The slave traffic was resumed. The Egyptian officials again assumed control and, eager to make up for opportunities lost while Gordon held the reins, became more corrupt than ever. Complaints soon began to come in from Europe against such conditions and, in February 1877 scarcely a year after he had left Khartoum, Gordon was prevailed upon to return and take up the administration of the Soudan.

Gordon was received at Khartoum with great enthusiasm. He was liked by the people because of his just dealings. For two years he worked with great vigor. The Khedive in appointing him Governor practically turned the Soudan over to his personal control making him free to govern as he pleased. He could levy his own army, form his own administration, use his own financial organization under his own Minister of Finance. In short for all administrative purposes the Soudan was sundered from Egypt. The Khedive in a letter to Gordon sending him certain information concerning the centers of slave trade, assures him that Egypt would loyally cooperate with him and urges him to use all

the powers he had given him; to take all steps he thought necessary; and to punish, change, and dismiss all officials he saw fit. Gordon followed the policy of going about the Soudan inspecting every thing. He would come in on some unsuspecting officials in the midst of their corrupt doings and then without a question would dismiss them and send them back to Egypt replacing them with men whom he knew he could trust. He would strike off into the southern Kordofan region, with a bodyguard of a couple of hundred of men, and meeting some slave traders with their captives would throw them into captivity, send them to the nearest prison and liberating the enslaved blacks would send them back to the native tribes rejoicing. By such methods he checked this terrible traffic in human flesh, and completely reorganized the administration in the Soudan. In 1879, when Ismail Pasha was deposed, pressure was brought to bear upon the new Egyptian Government, chiefly by the great number of officials whom Gordon had dismissed, and Gordon was recalled from the Soudan.

The reins of administration were left in the hands of Raouf Pasha, a Turk. He was a man of purely oriental ideas and methods yet possessing an honest desire for justice as he saw it. He had as his chief subordinates three Europeans. Emin Bey, a German, whom Gordon had placed in charge of the provinces of the equator, was retained in that position by Raouf Pasha. Lupton Bey, an Englishman, was placed in command of the Bahr-el-Ghazal province. And Slatin Bey, an Austrian, was placed in command of the province of Darfur. It was the efforts of these men that kept down the many small revolts which were continually rising during the next two years. With the advent of Egyptian officials, however, corruption again set in. Taxes became burdensome and in many cases were collected by force. All this tended to greatly increase the discontent, on the part of the Soudanese, with Egyptian control and they were ready to accept the slightest pretext to throw it off. The Arab slave traders, angered by the check that had been placed upon their business by Gordon, opened up the old traffic with renewed vigor, determined to resist by force any new attempts at suppression. Conditions grew rapidly worse. The administration became more and more unbearable. The tendencies toward a general revolt grew stronger and stronger until, in 1881, they found expression in the Mahdist uprising which not only swept Egyptian control out of the Soudan and threatened the existence of Egypt itself, but looked for

a time as though it might develop into another great Mohammedan movement.

As prophesied by Mohemet and told by the Koran, there was to come in after years to rule over Islam, ^{Prophet} who was to reform and purify the faith and establish the true religion throughout the world. This prophet would be known as the Mahdi, or the Heavenly guided one. This had been the theme and the idea upon which more than one Arab religious fanatic had endeavored to gain power since the relapse in the Islam craze, but without success. It was this same idea, coupled with a fanatic's desire for power, which, in the latter part of the sixties, took possession of a certain Soudanese of low birth, Mohammed Ahmed by name, a native of Dongola. He had, in 1860 and 1861, served under Dr Peney, a French Surgeon-General, in the hospital service in the Soudan. It was in this service that he learned the many little tricks of chemistry and medicine which he brought into such powerful use, in his later career, as miracles. After leaving this service he became imbued with religious fever and was admitted to the powerful religious order of Ghelani Dervishes.

He took to the life of a hermit and, by 1870, had become generally known for his piety. About this time he established himself at the island of Abba, in the White Nile about one hundred and thirty miles above Khartoum. Here he lived an ideal and exemplary life and besought all Islam to join him in renouncing this world and living only for the world to come. His influence and notariety grew greater year by year. He gathered about him great numbers of Soudanese fanatics and established over them a control that was absolute. His island became a shrine, a second Mecca; an object of pilgrimage for all true Moslems. Thus it went on for about ten years until, in 1881, he began to put his well laid plans into execution. He first had himself publicly proclaimed as the Mahdi. And then invited all religious fakirs and leaders to seek his influence and join him in a conquest for Islamism. He had chosen his time with a skill that ~~was~~^{is} to be admired. Conditions were ripe for just such a movement. The Soudanese, writhing under the Egyptian yoke, were anxious for any pretext for a revolt. This gave them the very chance they longed for. They could follow the Mahdi with a good grace, they would be fighting for their faith.

² Raouf Pasha suddenly decided that this fanatical movement had gone far enough. ² He dispatched an expedition from Khartoum to capture the so called Mahdi and disperse his followers. This expedition was met by a force led by

1. Handbook of the Soudan for 1898. pp. 171.

2. " " " " " " " "

the infuriated Mahdi sword in hand, and almost completely destroyed; only a few escaping to carry the news back to Khartoum. This victory added greatly to the prestige of the Mahdi. It designated him as the true conqueror. It was the one thing necessary to inspire in the mind of every Soudanese the belief that he was indeed their Mahdi, and to bring them flocking to his support. Immediately after this victory, in August 1881, the Mahdi retired with his followers into the hills of southern Kordofan. Here he gathered about him a great number of the Arab tribes chief among which was the tribe of Baggara, or cattle owning, Arabs. These later formed the main stay of his fighting force.

Revolution was no longer imminent, it was a reality and preparations were begun at once to suppress it. Reschid Bey, at this time Governor of Fashoda, resolved to attack ~~the~~ the Mahdi before he became more powerful. Early in December of 1882, he left Fashoda with fifteen hundred men to disperse the Mahdists. On December 9th, his force was overwhelmed by the followers of the Mahdi and almost annihilated. The news of this victory spread rapidly throughout the Soudan. The Mahdi now again issued a call to Islam to join him in a war against the infidels; promising his followers four fifths of all the booty taken in war and insuring to all who fell fighting for God and the true religion the fullest enjoyment of the pleasures of Paradise.

In the spring of the next year, 1882, another attempt was made to dislodge the Mahdi.² Yusef Pasha, with about five thousand regular Egyptian troops, left Khartoum, March 15, and marched westward toward El-Obeid in Kordofan. However plans were changed and the expedition proceeded south to Fashoda, which was reached about the middle of May. After a short rest the expedition started west to find and destroy the Mahdi. On the evening of June 6, they camped at Mesat, near the hill of Gedir, confident of success. On the morning of June 7, in the early dawn the Mahdist host fell upon them and completely annihilated the force. Scarcely a man was left alive and none escaped. The effect of this victory on the superstitious minds of the Soudanese can be readily understood. For over sixty years the country had been governed by the Egyptians. If a tribe refused to pay its taxes it suffered punishment. No one had dared to question for a moment the power or course of the authorities. Suddenly this holy man had appeared upon the scene and with a crowd of half naked, ill armed, and undisciplined men he inflicted crushing defeats upon the well armed and well disciplined Government troops. The Soudanese not only believed in him

1. "Fire and Sword in the Soudan": by Slatin Pasha. pp.62.
2. Handbook of the Soudan for 1898. pp.172.

they worshiped him. They gathered about his standard in vast numbers eager for fight. Under the cloak of a religious war they could give vent to their ruling passions, to massacre, plunder and rob, and at the same time shake themselves free from taxation imposed upon them by a detested Government. Every day the Mahdi would address them exhorting them again and again to lead exemplary lives and think only of the world to come. With the blessings of paradise ever before them death was a pleasure, a thing to be sought for. Fear was absolutely unknown to them. With this kind of followers the Mahdi began his conquest of the Soudan. His first definite move was to capture El-Obeid the capital city of Kordofan. El-Obeid was invested, in September 1882, and after a ~~siege~~ siege of five months was surrendered to the Mahdist forces. Here the Mahdi made his headquarters and devoted his time to preaching and exhorting his followers. The command of his troops he left almost entirely in the hands of Abdullahi bin Sayed Mohammed, one of his Khalifas. The Khalifas were the three right hand men of the Mahdi who attended to the administration for him. Khalifa Abdullahi, however, was the closest to the Mahdi and held the position of commander in chief of the army. With El-Obeid captured the Mahdi was in practical control of all western and southern Soudan.

When it became known that El-Obeid was besieged Egyptian official circles suddenly awakened to the possibilities of danger to Egypt. It became very evident that the movement must be checked by some means. Arabi Pasha had withdrawn many of the Egyptian troops from the Soudan and what remained were so scattered that they could not hope to cope with the Mahdist horde. It had been the policy of the English, that whatever control they exerted within Egypt itself or whatever complications the force of circumstances brought about there, they would have nothing to do with affairs in the Soudan. Conditions there had been left entirely in the hands of the Egyptians. Now however, when they were alone in the control of Egypt they suddenly found Egyptian control in the Soudan swept away, the region overrun by a fanatical horde, and Egypt in danger. An expedition must be sent to crush the rebellion; there was no other way to turn. Abandonment of the Soudan would only be leaving it in the hands of a power which would be a continual menace to Egyptian safety. Accordingly preparations for an expedition were begun at once. A body of troops numbering about eleven thousand were collected, composed mostly of the

soldiers of the defeated army of Arabi Pasha, and placed under the command of General Hicks.¹ The expedition embarked from Suez for Suakin in the latter part of December 1882. Landing there it pushed across the desert to Berber and after great hardships reached Khartoum on the 4th of March 1883. On September 9, 1883, after a short rest, Hicks left Khartoum, with about 8,200 men, and began the march towards El-Obeid; but he never reached it. After having marched some two hundred miles with continual losses from thirst and disease the Egyptian troops, on November 5, 1883, were hemmed in among the Kasgil passes, near the town of Shekan, within forty miles of El-Obeid, and after three days fighting were overpowered by a force five or six times their number and completely annihilated. The last desperate attempt to crush the Mahdi had ended in ~~an~~ a catastrophe more terrible than any that had preceded it and Egyptian rule in the Soudan was at an end.

There remained but one thing for the Mahdi to accomplish before he was absolute master of the Soudan. He must capture Khartoum, still held by an Egyptian force. Now came another call for Gordon. He was looked upon as the one man who might yet save the people of Khartoum. Through the influence of the English Government he was prevailed upon to return and sailed from London January 18, 1884. He reached Khartoum on the 18th of February and was welcomed by the people as their deliverer. Gordon had started out with the policy in view of evacuating the Soudan.² His orders, to which he had agreed when he left London, were to proceed to Khartoum and at once set about the evacuation and the safe retreat of the population desiring to come away. After he had reached Khartoum, however, he became determined to "smash the Mahdi by force of arms."

The Mahdi now ordered a general movement upon Khartoum. A force of Arabs, well in advance of the main body, attacked Khartoum on March 16, 1884, but were repulsed with considerable loss. It now became evident that the plan of the Mahdi was to occupy all the territory around Khartoum before attacking the city itself. Gradually the Dervishes closed in about Khartoum. Yet Gordon succeeded for some time in keeping open communications with Egypt. On April 18, 1884 Gordon telegraphed that he must have relief and that his supplies would last him about five months. Plans were at once begun for his relief and rescue. The Soudan was only thought of now as the trap that held Gordon. The English Government had sent him there and English public sentiment now demanded that it should get him out. The question of

1. "Fire and Sword in the Soudan"; by Slatin Pasha. Chap. 8.
2. "Life of Gladstone"; by Morley. Vol. 3. Chap. on Soudan.

the route to be taken by the relief expedition woefully delayed the undertaking of the project. There was a continual ~~was~~ oscillation between the Suakin-Berber route and the route up the Nile valley. Suddenly the news came to Cairo that the Dervishes had taken Berber and that 2,000 people had been murdered. With Berber in the hands of the Mahdi all connections with Gordon were cut off. Yet still the officials in London jangled over the route to be taken. Four long months were spent in useless parleying but at last on the 18th of August it was officially announced that the Nile route had been chosen. Preparations for the start were now pushed vigorously. General Lord Wolseley, who had so successfully put down the rebellion of Arabi Pasha, was placed in command of the expedition. He knew that the rapids of the Nile would be a great hinderance to large steamers. Accordingly he adopted the plan of having a large number of whale boats made to carry his troops up the Nile, and of enlisting a corps of Canadian voyageurs to pilot these boats up the rapids. In the minds of many this was a useless waste of time and money as the Nile boats could be had more readily and would serve the purpose fully as well and that the native river men would know the rapids of the Nile better than Canadians from the Red river district. Wolseley's plans however, were carried out.

Wolseley arrived in Egypt in the early part of September and soon after the expedition left Cairo. October 5th found the expedition at Wady Halfa the frontier post of Egypt. From here on they must fight for every foot of ground. Slowly the relief column pushed its way southward but all too slow. For four months Gordon waited; encouraging his half starved garrison to hold out by keeping ever before them the prospect of rescue by the English. On January 26, 1885, the host of the Mahdi stormed the works before Khartoum and after many hours of severe fighting carried the day. A grand rush was made for the Palace where Gordon was known to be. They found him standing at the head of the stairway. As the black warriors entered and came toward him he asked; "Where is your Master the Mahdi?" His answer was a spear thrust through the heart and he fell forward dead. Two days later Sir C. Wilson with two steamers loaded with men and provisions reached Khartoum only to find it in the hands of the Mahdi and Gordon no more. He turned about and put back to Metemneh where he had left the main column eight days before in a vain attempt to reach Gordon in time. It was this move on the part of the British which had caused

1. Journal of the American Geographical Society. 1885.

Vol. 17; pp. 204.

2. "Fire and Sword in the Soudan"; by Slatin Pasha. pp. 209.

the Mahdi to order the final attack on Khartoum which resulted in its capture.

With Khartoum in his hands the Mahdi could claim the Soudan as absolutely his own and at once set about organizing his government. He established a tyrannical and extortionate administration upon the most barbarous of principles. He located his capital on the site of Fort Omdurman, on the west bank of the Nile across the river from Khartoum. Here he built up a great city of straw and mud huts, and unsanitary conditions. The results were that very shortly a plague of small pox broke out to which, on June 21, 1885, the Mahdi himself fell a victim. His last command to his followers was that they should faithfully follow and obey the Khalifa Abdullahi, who was henceforth to be their leader. The Khalifa carried on affairs along the lines established by the Mahdi holding complete sway in the Soudan with Dongola as the chief northern post. The region between Dongola and Wady Halfa being the frontier. His rule was exceedingly tyrannical. Ruin and devastation marked the regions once the homes of the tribes which had dared to oppose his will; while those who submitted to him were robbed at every turn under the pretext of taxation. He maintained an immense army with which to enforce his will and extend his conquest; to pay for which methods of extortion were freely used to gain revenue.

After the Wolseley expedition had failed in the attempt to rescue Gordon many plans were put forward for the recapture of Khartoum. None of them, however, were ever undertaken. In the early days of 1886 the troops along the Nile were withdrawn to Wady Halfa and the Soudan was abandoned. Egypt was completely cut off from any commercial or political relation with the Soudan and the Khalifa's warriors continually harassed the frontiers of Egypt. There was almost continual fighting around Suakin which remained in Egyptian hands, and which the Khalifa was very anxious to capture as it furnished the Soudan with an excellent port for commercial communication with the outside world. It was to prevent this very thing that the Anglo-Egyptian Government held so doggedly to Suakin. Yet to hold Suakin was all that was attempted any thought of reconquest being for the time opposed by the British. England had thrown away a great deal of money and many valuable lives on the Soudan and did not care to continue such a policy. Furthermore as she now held sole influence in Egyptian affairs, the question of what to do with Egypt was demanding all of her attention.

The attitude of England toward Egypt was very unsettled. She could not directly annex it as the rest of ~~the~~ Europe would not look favorably upon such a policy. Neither could she proclaim a protectorate over it as she was not sure that she desired to remain in Egypt. Lord Grenville, on January 3, 1883, in a note addressed to the Powers, had laid down the policy which England intended to follow regarding Egypt, as follows: "Although for the present a British force remains in Egypt for the preservation of public tranquility, Her Majesty's Government are desirous of withdrawing it as soon as the state of the country and the organization of proper means for the maintenance of the Khedive's authority will admit of it. In the meantime the position in which Her Majesty's Government are placed toward His Highness imposes upon them the duty of giving ~~the~~ advice with the object of securing that ^{the} order of things to be established shall have a satisfactory character, and possess the elements of stability and progress."

The object of England then, was the establishment of an order of things possessing the elements of stability and progress. This object was to be obtained by giving advice. Lord Grenville, in a note to Sir Evelyn Baring the British Consul-General at Cairo, gives a very clear and definite interpretation of what he meant by the phrase "giving advice". He says; "I hardly need to point out that in important questions, where the administration and safety of Egypt are at stake, it is indispensable that Her Majesty's Government should, so long as the provisional occupation of the country by the English troops continues, be assured that the advice which, after full consideration of the views of the Egyptian Government, they may feel it their duty to tender to the Khedive, should be followed. It should be made clear to the Egyptian ministers and the Governors of the provinces, that the responsibility, which for the time rests on England, obliges Her Majesty's Government to insist upon the adoption of the policy which they recommend, and that it will be necessary that those Ministers and Governors who do not follow this course should cease to hold their offices."

Thus with her policy fairly plain and the method by which it was to be carried out much plainer England set about reforming Egypt. She wanted to teach Egypt to take care of herself. Yet it seemed at first that the harder she worked the less Egypt would learn. For the first five years it seemed that all efforts were in vain. Everything went wrong. The debt would not decrease while the revenue of the

1. "England in Egypt"; by Lord Milner.

2. " " " " " "

country was steadily falling off, making the interest obligations harder and harder to meet. The international fetters which had so hampered Egypt before the rebellion of 1882 now fell upon England; and were made tighter and more inconvenient by the jealousy of France. That country never lost a chance to complain against a move or a policy where there was the least pretext whatever for doing so. The Egyptian officials could not be brought to understand that advice when given was expected to be followed. Only when the advice was firmly backed by the statement that the English Government would stand no more trifling in the matter, was it acted upon. Only when it took the form of an order could the Egyptian officials clearly understand that it was to be carried out. Gradually, however, the English came to understand how to manage the Egyptians and the cloud of gloom which had hung over conditions in Egypt began to lift.

The fellah, as the Egyptian peasant is called, finally began to appreciate that he was being benefited by the influence of England. At first he had been discontented. But when he saw the irrigation conditions of his country being improved and regulated so that the Nile flood could be controlled and the life giving waters so distributed that his crops, from year to year and in all parts of his country, were assured; when he found himself no longer flogged into paying his taxes; his taxes considerably lightened and the time for paying those taxes fixed at a period of the year when he ^{had} sold his crops and had money on hand with which to pay them: when he found that if he had a grievance against another fellah or against an official he could go into the courts with perfect confidence that he would receive justice: then it began to dawn upon him that perhaps the influence of England was a good thing after all and he was grateful. Thus after thirteen years of hard work and determined efforts on the part of England, Egypt came to see that she could not do without the English advice.

One of the chief fields of influence, and perhaps the one that showed the most steady advance, was the army. When Arabi Pasha was overthrown, in 1882, and his army disbanded the question arose as to what would take the place of the Egyptian army as the arm of national defense. It was thought that England would not attempt again to make a soldier of the Egyptian fellah, for he had been proved time after time to be a failure. Suggestions as to what course to follow came from every hand. Some thought that Turkish battalions should be placed in Egypt. Others thought that

a better plan would be to have mixed European battalions, or better still perhaps the employment of Sepoy battalions from India. The English Government, however, adhered firmly to the principle that the defense of Egypt should be intrusted to its own inhabitants. Foreigners as civilians in Egypt had been a never ceasing annoyance, and the troubles with them served as a warning against the placing of foreign soldiers there. The plans of the English Government were incomparably the best if they could be carried out and it soon became evident that the best and surest means of carrying them out was to place English officers over Egyptian soldiers. The Khedive was prevailed upon to appoint as Sirdar, or Commander in Chief, of the Egyptian army the well known English officer, Sir Evelyn Wood. Twenty-six other English officers were appointed to aid the Sirdar in organizing and drilling the new Egyptian army. The progress made by these men was slow but steady. By living examples of the powers ~~and~~ of courage and daring, and by constant drilling they raised a class of men whose name had once been symbolic of cowardice to an unquestioned ~~position~~ position among the best soldiers of the world. After 1887 when the majority of English troops were withdrawn from Egypt it was found necessary to increase the Egyptian army in numbers. In 1884, a regiment of Soudanese blacks were enlisted and had on several occasions proved a very valuable adjunct to the Egyptian fighting force. The experiment of enlisting these blacks had been such a success that it was now decided to make the increase of the army of this material. By the close of 1888 four new regiments had been enlisted which in the later campaign proved to be among the most reliable forces of the army.

The new army had many chances of seeing active service. Divisions had to be continually stationed at Wady Halfa and Suakin to fight off the raiding Dervishes. Suakin had never fallen into the hands of the Khalifa although time after time he attempted to take it. In this region the English used successfully the friendship of King John of Abyssinia, whose armies did much of the fighting. Egypt had, on February 6, 1885, turned Massawa, a port on the RED Sea south of Suakin, over to the Italians who also took an active part in many of the struggles against the Dervishes in this district. It was the united efforts of English, Italians, and Abyssinians that prevented the Dervishes from reaching the Red Sea. Gradually the Dervish leaders lost influence with the tribes in the north and northeast and were compelled

to fall back toward Khartoum. By the summer of 1891 trade was reopened between Suakin and Berber. In July 1894, the Italians surprised the Dervish force at Kassala and captured the place. The Khalifa ordered his chief General, Osman Digna to retake it but the Italians successfully held it.

The beginning of the year 1896 found England with Egyptian affairs so well in hand and conditions in Egypt sufficiently sound that when a request came from the Italian Government that a demonstration be made, by the Egyptian troops, beyond Wady Halfa in order to relieve the Dervish pressure upon Kassala, there was not the least hesitancy in complying. The demonstration as originally proposed was insignificant. But once set on foot it quickly turned into a project for the reconquest of the Soudan. When in 1885, the Soudan was abandoned it was manifest that some day, when she had recuperated her strength and collected her resources, Egypt would reassert her control over the vast region surrounding the upper courses of the Nile. That time had now arrived, but it had come so unexpectedly that all the resources of Egypt were called into play to support it. The success of England's efforts to reform Egypt were suddenly put to the test, but they stood the shock well.

The campaign for the recapture of Khartoum was authorized in the spring of 1896. The entire management was placed in the hands of Sir Herbert Kitchener the Sirdar of the Egyptian army. It is to the great energy and organizing genius of this man that the extraordinary efficiency of the Egyptian and Soudanese troops, which came out so distinctly in this campaign, is due. His plan for the campaign was first to clear the province of Dongola of the Dervishes and then go on to Khartoum. The end of the year 1896 saw the first step in the campaign successfully completed. Then the troops were given a short rest for the winter. The Sirdar well knew that if the campaign was successful it meant not so much a victory over Dervishes as it did a victory over distance and climatic conditions. He decided that the position at Dongola was to be exposed to use as a base of supplies, and that a direct route across the desert from Wady Halfa to some point, such as Abu Hamed, was the more practical as it cut off the great Dongola bend of the Nile. This would shorten the route over which supplies must be carried by many hundred miles. But to boldly strike out into the desert, with a large army, where supplies even water must be brought great distances, was a very serious proposition unless there was a sure and rapid means of communication continually maintained with some large base of supplies. The

I. Handbook of the Soudan for 1898.

Horatio Herbert Kitchener was born Sept. 22, 1850, at Gunborough Villa, near Ballylongford, Kerry, Ireland. He was educated at the Royal Military Academy at Woolwich, Eng. Entered the army as Lieutenant of Royal Engineers in 1871. From 1871-74 he participated in the Franco-Prussian war under French colors. From 1874-82 he was engaged in

Sirdar therefore determined to build a railroad as he advanced across this great stretch of desert so that when he again reached the Nile there would be all that could be asked for in the way of transportation facilities.

The spring of 1897 saw the railway begun from Wady Halfa out into the desert. Abu Hamed, where it was expected to again reach the Nile, was in the hands of the Dervishes who must be driven out before the project could be successfully completed. This task was assigned to Major-General Hunter who, after a march of one hundred and thirty-two miles across the desert, attacked and captured Abu Hamed, on August 7, 1897, with the loss of only one hundred men. This victory had an unexpected result. The Dervishes immediately evacuated Berber, their strongest post between Abu Hamed and Khartoum, and withdrew to the neighborhood of Omdurman. General Hunter at once pushed on to Berber and took possession of that post. The railroad was then hurried forward and by the end of the year, 1897, troops and supplies could be carried straight from Wady Halfa to Berber.

After a short rest at Berber the forward movement towards Khartoum was begun again. Fort Atbara, at the junction of the river Atbara and the Nile, was occupied and then came another short halt. Because of the near approach to the Dervish capital it was thought best to call up some English troops in order to strengthen the force. By the spring of 1898 they had arrived and preparations for the advance were begun. However, just at this time came the news that Osman Digna, the Khalifa's chief general, with a force of about 20,000 Dervishes, had started north to recapture Berber. Then came the rumor that he had gone eastward to the Atbara and was advancing down that stream. After several days of anxious scouting it was discovered that Osman Digna had constructed a fortified camp on the Atbara about seventeen miles from its junction with the Nile. Here he evidently intended to await an attack and he did not wait in vain. After having definitely located the camp of the Dervishes the Sirdar determined to attack at once. On April 6, 1898, a force of 12,000 men under the personal command of the Sirdar, started up the Atbara. On the following day, April 7, they attacked the camp of the Dervishes defeating them with a loss of 3,000 men. The Sirdar lost about 500 men. After inflicting this defeat upon the Dervishes the Sirdar returned to Fort Atbara and after a short period of preparation the final advance upon Omdurman began.

survey work and civil organization of Palestine and Cyprus with a brief interval of residence at Ergerum, as Vice-Consul of Anatolia from 1879-80. In 1882 Sir Evelyn Wood, the new Sirdar of the Egyptian army, appointed him, as volunteer, to one of the two majorships of the Egyptian cavalry. He participated in the Wolseley expedition for the relief of Gordon. From 1886-88 he was Governor of Suakin. After the

As the Nile began to rise, twenty-two thousand men began to move steadily southward toward Omdurman. The night of September 1, 1898, found them drawn up in line of battle behind semi-circular intrenchments at the little village of Agaiga about seven miles from Omdurman. Early on the morning of September 2, the Dervishes, in vast numbers, advanced to attack the Egyptian camp. Time after time they charged the position held by the Sirdar's forces but the fellah, the black Soudanese, and the English soldiers stood firm. Sharpnel, Maxim, and Lee-Metford mowed down the Dervishes long before they came within striking distance. Over thirty thousands of dead bodies marked the scene of their desperate charges. On the evening of September 2, the Sirdar took possession of Omdurman without resistance for the Khalifa had fled, making his escape into Kordofan. Two days later the Union Jack and the cresented standard of Egypt were raised above the ruins of Gordon's palace at Khartoum and the Soudan was virtually in the hands of Egypt. To say, however, that it was in the hands of Egypt is merely an indirect way of saying that it was in the hands of England.

The Sirdar at once set about establishing a military hold upon the Soudan. Gradually he pushed out to the west and south from Khartoum destroying all opposition from smaller bands of Dervishes and strengthening his positions for the final struggle with the Khalifa. On December 26, 1898 Colonel Lewis attacked and defeated a Dervish force under Emir Ahmed Fedil, while it was attempting to cross the Blue Nile at the cataract near Roseires, about four hundred miles south of Khartoum. Emir Fedil was the last of the Khalifa's lieutenants to hold the field with an organized body of Dervishes. His force had not been in the battle of Omdurman and he was endeavoring to join the Khalifa when defeated by Colonel Lewis. The only remaining body of Dervishes which could have now made any trouble was that in Kordofan under the direct command of the Khalifa. After the battle of Omdurman the Khalifa, with his remaining followers, retired toward El-Obeid, in Kordofan, where he previously collected much treasure and large stores of grain and ammunition. Here he attempted to restore his hold upon the Soudanese by proclaiming that the battle of Omdurman had fulfilled the prophesy, that all waverers in Mahdism would be weeded out in a battle with the infidels. And that the survivors, being the true believers, would rally at the island of Abba, the birth place of Mahdism, and drive the infidels before them. He remained in the neighborhood of El-Obeid for some months and

conclusion of the Eastern Soudan campaign in 1889, he was engaged for four years as Adjutant-General and second in command of the Egyptian army; also as Inspector-General of police. In 1892 he was appointed Sirdar of the Egyptian army. From 1894-96 he was making preparations for the reconquest of the Soudan and from 1896-99 was conducting the campaign which resulted in the capture of Omdurman, Sept. 2,

then began a northward movement apparently toward Khartoum. The Sirdar, however, did not believe that the Khalifa was greatly to be feared and for a time suspended operations looking to his capture in order to give his attention to, the civil questions opened up by the occupation of the Soudan.

The English Government was as much at sea, regarding the policy to be followed in the Soudan, as it had been in the case of Egypt. During the session of Parliament of 1897 and 1898 Sir Michael Hicks-Beach had declared that the English Government had no intention of proceeding beyond Khartoum or of retaining British troops in the Soudan, after the immediate object of the expedition had been achieved. However, after the battle of Omdurman the Soudan was declared to be under martial law, awaiting the decision of England and Egypt as to the form of administration to be established there. Early in January, 1899, Lord Cromer, English Consul-General in Egypt, laid down the principles on which the Soudan was to be governed, and on January 19, an agreement confirming the following system of administration, was signed at Cairo.

²The government of the Soudan was to be by the Queen of England and the Khedive of Egypt. The representative of both was to be the Sirdar. The English and the Egyptian flags were both to be used on land and water throughout the Soudan, except in the town of Suakin where the Egyptian flag alone was to be used. One officer alone was to have supreme military and civil command. He was to be termed Governor-General of the Soudan and was to be appointed by Khedivial decree with the assent of the English Government. Laws, orders, and regulations for good government of the Soudan, and for holding, disposing, or devolution of property could be made, altered, or abrogated by the proclamation of the Governor-General, who was to notify the British agent in Cairo and the President of the Council of Ministers. All laws, orders, and regulations so issued could apply either to the whole or to any part of the Soudan, and could alter or repeal any existing law either by explicit statement or by implication. No law, enacted after the adoption of this plan, could apply to the Soudan without permission of the Governor-General. No special privilege should be given to any one nationality in regard to trading or holding property in the Soudan. Import duties were not payable on goods from Egypt, but could be levied on goods entering the Soudan through Suakin or other ports on the Red Sea. Duties on goods leaving the Soudan were to be prescribed from time to

1. Quarterly Review, Oct. 1899. pp. 567.

2. Statesman's Year Book, 1899-1900.

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1898. For this service he was created Baron Kitchener of Khartoum and of Aspsall (Suffolk). In 1899 he became Governor-General of the Soudan. In 1900 he was called to South Africa to take command of the English forces engaged in the Boer war. He successfully conducted the campaign and forced

time by proclamation. The mixed tribunals of Egypt were to have no jurisdiction in the Soudan, which is under martial law, except in Suakin. No consuls or consular agents were to be allowed to reside in the Soudan without the consent of the English Government. The importation of slaves was prohibited. And the treaty, known as the Brussels act of July 2, 1890, for the suppression of the slave traffic, was to be enforced with especial attention to the articles relative to the importation and sale of liquors and firearms. The Soudan was defined as including all territories south of twenty-two degrees north latitude which had never been evacuated by the Egyptian garrisons, and those provinces which were administered by the Government of the Khedive previous to the Mahdist rebellion and which were then temporarily lost to Egypt, and had since been reconquered by the two Governments acting together, or which might be reconquered in the future. This region was divided, for administrative purposes, into four first class districts, Omdurman, Sennar, Kassala, and Fashoda; and three second class districts, Assuan, Wady Halfa, and Suakin. Six military Governors were at once appointed.

About a month after the battle of Roseires Kitchener, who was now Governor-General of the Soudan, began a reconnaissance south from Khartoum in order to locate the Khalifa. At Dueim he found the Dervishes strongly encamped but deferred attack because of lack of numbers. A little later he compelled the Dervishes to retire and made Dueim the advance post of the Anglo-Egyptian forces. He then determined to strengthen his hold in this region before attempting to capture the Khalifa. By October he had so far succeeded in this that he began very active operations to draw the Khalifa into battle. The Khalifa however drew off to the north and was not heard of again until November when he was located near Gedid. The Sirdar decided to catch him there if possible. Accordingly on November 21, 1899, Colonel Wingate, with about 3,700 men, was dispatched on this mission. At Abo Abil, on November 22, the Khalifa's advance guard of about 2,500 men, was met and defeated. Wingate at once pushed on to Gedid in order to cut off the Khalifa's retreat. Arriving there, on November 23, he located the Dervish camp at Om Debrekat, about six miles away. During the night of November 23, Wingate occupied a ridge overlooking this camp and on the following morning, completely defeated them in a battle in which the Khalifa was killed and the Dervish power utterly broken.

the acceptance of peace by the Boers on May 31, 1902. For this service he was created Viscount of Khartoum, the Vaal, and Aspull (Suffolk). In 1902 he was appointed Commander in Chief of the army of India. It was his suggestion which set on foot the movement for the establishment of Gordon College at Khartoum.

All opposition to Anglo-Egyptian rule being now destroyed preparations were rapidly pushed for opening the Soudan to the world and on December 12, 1899, after having been practically closed for a period of sixteen years, the Soudan was declared open to traffic. The railroad had, on December 31, 1899, reached Halfaya on the banks of the Blue Nile opposite Khartoum. It was therefore possible to go from Cairo direct to Khartoum by rail. By the end of 1899 we find the Soudan under complete military control of the Anglo-Egyptian forces. The basis of a new administration had been formed and every thing was in readiness for the work of revival. The future of the Soudan was to depend mainly upon good administration, the increase and enlightenment of the population, the improvement of its communications, and the developement of its agricultural possibilities.

When in the latter part of 1899, Lord Kitchener was called to South Africa, Sir Reginald Wingate succeeded him as Sirdar of the army and Governor-General of the Soudan. Although the Governor-General is Sirdar and many of his principal subordinates are military officers the administration is essentially civil. A district is now termed a Moudirieh, and the Governor is called the Moudir. The Governors are military officers holding active commissions in the army, and are in command of the forces of the district. They are compelled to make a periodical report, to the Governor-General, on the condition of their district.² In 1900 the office of Inspector-General was created. It is the duty of this officer to go about through the Soudan noting the progress of all branches of public works and suggesting such new reforms as he may deem necessary or profitable.⁴ Sir Rudolph von Slatin, who was Governor of Darfour before the Mahdist rebellion and who was a captive in the hands of the Dervishes for nearly ten years, was appointed to this important position. His long experience in the country and his thorough knowledge of its inhabitants designating him as the one man to fill such a position.

Extending south from the Egyptian frontier to lake Albert N'Yanza, 1400 miles, and west from the Red Sea to the confines of Wadi in central Africa (although the western boundary is undefined) the present Soudan has an area of 950,000 square miles. The chief towns are Khartoum, Omdurman, Wady Halfa, New Dongola, El-Obeid, Sennar, Kassala, and Suakin. Since 1899 the Soudan has been redistricted.³ The report on the Soudan for 1903 gives nine first class districts, Darfur (or Darfour), Khartoum, Ghezireh (between the Blue and White

1. Statesman's Year Book, 1900. pp. 1140.

2. " " " 1901. " "

3. Report on the conditions in Egypt and the Soudan.
(Blue Book---Egypt. No. I. 1904.)

4. (A short biography of Slatin will be found on page 37)

Francis Reginald Wingate was born at Broadfield, Renfrewshire, and educated at the Royal Military Academy, at

Niles), Berber, Sennar, Kassala, The Upper Nile Province (the old province of Fashoda), Kordofan, and Bhar-el-Ghazal. There are still three second class districts, Suakin, Dongola, and Wady Halfa. Law and order once established in this region the new administration set about redistributing the population, settling the frontiers, establishing communications, and increasing the revenues. Besides the land and date taxes which had been established in 1899, taxes were placed on houses in towns, on boats, and on herds. Twenty-five per cent was collected on gum arabic, ivory, tobacco, and ostrich feathers. License dues were required for carrying firearms, selling liquors, and for selling in the markets. Progress in the revival of the Soudan, however, was very slow and the effects of the misgovernment under which it labored for so long a time are still noticeable in many of the districts. In spite of all attempts to raise revenue the poverty and depopulation of the country ~~has been~~^{was} so great that the burden of administration has been and will be, for some years to come, a heavy drain on the Egyptian Treasury.² For example the accounts for 1902 show a deficit of 247,000 Egyptian pounds, and for 1903 a deficit of 156,000³ Egyptian pounds. This deficit must be met by the Egyptian Treasury. As can be seen the deficit is decreasing from year to year and would in a short time cease to exist, but it has been the policy of the administration to utilize the increase in revenue to provide for further expenditures which the Soudan greatly needs.

The success of any established government will depend largely upon the administration of justice. Recognizing this the English have endeavored to establish in the Soudan as complete a system of justice as possible. The present organization of the Courts is based upon the Civil Justice Ordinance of 1900.³ Under this Ordinance all civil courts are subordinated to the Legal Secretary, in his capacity as Acting Judicial Commissioner. Criminal justice in each province is administered by the Moudir's Court, having general competence and composed of the Moudir, or his representative, and two other Magistrates; by Minor District Courts of three officers with limited competence; and by Magistrates with yet more limited powers. These Magistrates are the members of the Provincial Administrative Staff, who are either picked officers of the army or civilian inspectors, who are required to pass examination in the Codes used by the Courts in the administration of justice. Appeals lie to the Moudir or from the Court of the Moudir to that of the Judicial Commissioner. All sentences passed by the

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1. Report on the Soudan for 1903. (Blue Book---Egypt. No. I. 1904.)
 2. An Egyptian pound equals about \$4.943.
 3. Report on the Soudan for 1903. (Blue Book---Egypt. No. I. 1904.)

Woolwich. Became Lieut. in Royal Artillery 1880. Served in India and Aden 1881-83. Joined the Egyptian army in 1883. Aid-de-camp to Gen. Sir Evelyn Wood 1884-5. Took part in the

Court of the Moudir are submitted to the Governor-General for confirmation. Those of the subordinate courts are either submitted to the Moudir for confirmation or are open to appeal before him. Mohamedan Law Courts have been established which deal with all questions in connection with personal status. In these courts justice is administered by Mohamedan Judges. Complaints, however, are frequent that great difficulty is encountered in finding competent men to act as judges in these courts. It is expected that the spread of education will remedy this.

One of the chief obstacles in the way of successful development in the Soudan is the scarcity of population. There never has been a census taken in the Soudan and accordingly there can be no pretense as to accuracy of figures. But after careful investigation and consideration of estimates the following figures have been compiled. In 1881, at the outbreak of the Dervish rebellion, the approximate population of the Soudan was 8,451,000. During the Dervish rule, because of famine and disease, it is estimated that 3,451,000 people perished. While 3,203,500 more are said to have been killed in battle, either in external or internal wars, or to have been massacred, by order of the Khalifa, because they refused to obey his will. In one district, in 1882, there is said to have been nearly eight hundred villages, but when the Inspector-General passed through the district in 1901, not one village remained. The present population of the Soudan is estimated at about 1,870,500 or 6,580,500 less than the estimate for 1881. Villages which formerly could produce five or six hundred fighting men now have only fifty or sixty adult males. It is easy to see therefore why the Administration in the Soudan so eagerly encourage immigration. In a region capable of supporting ten million or more of people, progress must necessarily be slow when there exists scarcely more than one tenth of the inhabitants necessary to develop the resources of the country.

Add to the above conditions the general disposition of the Soudanese to avoid work and you have the situation in which the Soudan Administration finds ~~itself~~ itself in its attempts to increase the resources of the country. The indisposition of the Soudanese to work is only the natural results of heredity and environment. The mixture of Arab and Negro blood, which has produced the Soudanese type, would naturally result in an indolent race. The pure blood Arab scorns manual labor and the cultivation of the soil, while the negroid types of Africa never do more than the actual

I. Report on the Soudan for 1903. (Blue Book--Egypt. No. I. 1904.)

campaigns about Suakin from 1885-96, acting as Governor of the Red Sea Littoral at Suakin during 1894. He was Director of Military Intelligence in the Dongola campaign in 1896, and a member of the special commission to King Menelek of Abyssinia in 1897. He returned to participate in the expedition for the recapture of Khartoum 1897-98. Was in command

amount of work forced upon them by the necessities of life. The wants of the Soudanese are few and simple. They need scarcely any clothing and apparently have no desire to improve their position in life. They live in a country where a bounteous annual rainfall practically assures the required food supply. The cultivated soil needs no preparation to receive the seed and the seed once planted the crop needs no further attention until the time for harvest. The area which can be turned to cultivation is immense and it will be many years before the density of population renders the supply insufficient. In the districts north of Khartoum, however, conditions are somewhat different. Here the rainfall is not as abundant nor as sure as in the south, and the success of the crops depends almost entirely upon irrigation. The people can only support themselves by hard and continual labor. As a result these have been the districts where trade and prosperity have advanced most rapidly. In the southern districts, however, it is not probable that the Soudanese will take seriously to hard work until the pressure of an increasing population brings them face to face with the proposition that they must work or starve. For such an increase of population the administration is using every encouragement.

It is evident, however, that, because of the extreme unhealthfulness of these southern provinces, this increase will have to come from within and not through immigration. The whole region south of the fifteenth parallel of north latitude becomes, during the autumn and winter months, a hot-bed of malarial fever of an extremely venomous type. This is owing to the decay of the rank vegetation of the Blue Nile forests and to the pestilential swamps of the White Nile. Europeans and Egyptians quickly succumb to the effect of this malaria, making it practically impossible for them to stay in these regions during these seasons of the year.

The question of the education of the Soudanese is of vital importance in at least two ways. First it will create in the Soudanese a desire to better his condition in life; second, it is within the Soudan itself that the Government must look for its future employees. The latter is perhaps the more important reason. Mr. Currie, the Director-General of Education says; "It would, indeed, be difficult to exaggerate the importance of endeavoring to create an educated class in the Soudan with as little delay as possible. By an educated class, however, I do not refer to higher education. Years must elapse before any but an extremely limited

1. Report on the Soudan by Sir William Garstin.

(Blue Book---Egypt. No.5. 1899.)

2. Report on the Soudan for 1902.

(Blue Book---Egypt. No.1. 1903.)

of the operations resulting in the final defeat and death of the Khalifa near Gedid on Nov. 24, 1899. In the last days of 1899 he became Sirdar of the Egyptian army and Gov.-Gen. of the Soudan, which position he still holds.

number of young Sudanese will be able to profit by education of an advanced type. What is now mainly required is to impart such a knowledge of reading, writing, and arithmetic to a certain number of young men as will enable them to occupy with advantage the subordinate places in the administration of the country. The need of such a class is severely felt." There are at present five establishments, in the Soudan, in which instruction is given, to a certain extent, in English. They are Gordon College at Khartoum, and four primary schools at Khartoum, Omdurman, Wady Halfa, and Suakin. At Berber there is also a government school in which instruction is given only in Arabic. There are at present about six hundred pupils in attendance at these schools and reports show that very favorable progress is being made in their training.

What the Soudan mainly requires, in order that its progress toward prosperity may be rapid and sure, is a decided improvement in the means of communication which at present exist. There are but two lines of railway operating in the Soudan and both of these are in the region north of Khartoum. One is from Wady Halfa to Kerma, near Dongola, and the other from Wady Halfa to Khartoum. The former is of little practical use and will probably be closed before long, as the material can be used to a better advantage elsewhere. The latter is very important and its importance is increasing rapidly. It forms the only practical means of trade connection with the outer world. However a new road has just been begun, to operate between Suakin and Berber, which will when completed attract the greater part of the import and export trade of the Soudan. Suakin is the natural port of the Soudan and once connected with Berber by railroad it will become of considerable importance as a port. Outside of these railroads the internal communications are extremely poor. Trade must be carried on, between centers, by means of camels, and over roads which only camels can travel.

The Nile and its tributaries form a highway for internal commerce which under the present conditions is vastly important. It is the only means, in fact, of advantageously reaching the Upper Nile Provinces. Beyond Fashoda, however, communication by river has been almost entirely cut off by the presence of what is known as the Sudd, which completely blocks the river against traffic. This Sudd is a rank growth of various water plants, reeds and grasses, which forms in the sluggish waters of the White Nile and its tributaries densely covering the surface of the stream for

Sir Rudolf C. Slatin is a native of Austria where he spent his youth. In 1878, at the age of twenty-two, he left Vienna for the Soudan at the personal invitation of Gen. Gordon. He was appointed by Gordon as Gov.-Gen. of the province of Darfur. He held this position until 1884 when he was captured by the Dervishes and held for ten years. Escaping he took an appointment as a military officer in the service of the British Government in 1896.

miles. These plants grow into an inextricable tangle forming a great barrier of weeds varying from one foot to six or eight feet in thickness. So close and compact is this mass that men can walk about upon it with perfect safety. It is impossible for even the most powerful steamers to force their way through such a barrier and when it is once formed there is but one way to again open the stream to navigation. A force of men must be detailed to begin at the down stream side of the mass and cut it up into small blocks allowing it to float away with the current. This method has been used by the English with such success that in 1903 it was evident that a complete freedom of navigation of the waters of the upper Nile would soon be secured. The improvement of river transportation is of much importance in the development of the Soudan and a considerable flotilla of Government steamers now operate on the Blue and White Niles.

The Administration has, since the reconquest was effected, considered that telegraphic communication is essential to the development of the Soudan. Connection by telegraph is now established between Khartoum and Tewfikieh at the junction of the White Nile and the Sobat river, with Roseires on the Blue Nile, and with Galabat on the Atbara. In the construction of telegraph lines in most parts of the Soudan it is necessary to place the poles upon steel bases owing to the prevalence of white ants which eat the wood just at the surface of the ground.

The agricultural possibilities in the Soudan are still undeveloped. The main reason for this (the lack of population) has already been discussed. The best agricultural lands are found along the Blue Nile, which in times of flood carries a great amount of organic matter and deposits it over the flooded region making the soil extremely rich. The districts along the White Nile are not nearly so good as there is very little organic matter carried by the flood waters of that stream, and what is carried is filtered out, in the upper courses, by the heavy growth of weeds in the swamps. As a result the soil here is light and does not support continual cultivation. It does not compare, in fertility and productiveness, with the soil along the Blue Nile. The natives along the White Nile never cultivate land for more than three years in succession, at the end of which time they seek out a fresh area for cultivation. There is little doubt however, that under a good system of fertilization the soil of this region could be made very productive as the rainfall is abundant. At present those crops

active part in the campaign for the recapture of Khartoum, 1896-99. He became a Major-General in the Egyptian army. In 1900 he was appointed Inspector-General of the Soudan, which position he still holds.

which ripen during the winter months are being mainly developed. Through^{out} the northern half of the Soudan, in some parts more than others, irrigation is necessary for the full developement of certain crops. Accordingly plans are being worked out by the Government, in order that a plentiful supply of water may be readily and easily supplied at all times, especially those of deficient rainfall. Such plans apply chiefly to the Blue Nile districts where the soil properly irrigated offers great promises in the production of wheat and cotton. Experiments with both wheat and cotton are being made at the expense of the Government, but the successful production of these crops will depend largely upon the successful completion and operation of the Suakin-Berber railroad, which will furnish an easily and cheaply reached port of exportation.

The Soudan, then, under English rule, is gradually ~~immerging~~ from the state into which it had fallen under Dervish rule. A country which had been allowed to lapse into barbarism has again been started on the highroad to moral and material improvement. This fact, if no other, is sufficient to dispose of any argument that England has no right in the Soudan. We have seen how England has gradually come into the control of Egypt. Whether this has been accomplished as the result of any definitely conceived policy or merely from the force of circumstances, will probably never be fully known. Yet the fact remains that England is the virtual protector of Egypt. Egypt by right of occupation, of geographical position, economic consideration, and historical tradition is the lawful owner of the Soudan. And England, as the protector of Egypt, is bound to maintain the Egyptian control of the Soudan. The possession of the Soudan is absolutely necessary to Egypt for two reasons, first, it places the entire course of the Nile, on which the prosperity of Egypt depends, in the hands of those who are responsible for her government and are deeply interested in her welfare; second, it frees Egypt from the possibility of barbarious invasions, which was a continual menace during the Dervish rule.

In 1884 General Gordon wrote; "The Soudan is a useless possession, ever was so and ever will be so." Colonel Stewart in his report on the Soudan ~~added~~; "I quite agree with General Gordon, that the Soudan is an expensive and useless possession." From an economic point of view the Soudan has, so far, borne out the opinion of these two men. However, Lord Cromer, the present British Consul-General in Egypt, in his

I. Report on the Soudan for 1903.

(Blue Book---Egypt. No.I. 1904.)

report on the Soudan for 1903 says;"Without incurring a charge of excessive optimism,it may be anticipated that, with the judicious expenditure of capital,and the continuous application of a system of government such as that which is now being skilfully directed by Sir Reginald Wingate and his staff,the future of the Soudan will be far less gloomy than was predicted by Gordon and Stewart. But progress will be necessarily slow."

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